

SENATORS AND OFFICERS POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE OF TRAVEL EXPENSES

RECEIVED
SECRETARY OF THE SENATE
PUBLIC RECORDS
Date/Time Stamp
2018 SEP 11 PM 3:53

This disclosure, along with a copy of the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and all attachments, MUST be provided to the **Office of Public Records, Room 232 of the Hart Building**, within **30 days** after the travel is completed.

In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I Rand Paul, make the following
(Name of Senator/Officer)
disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me.

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): Cato Institute

Travel date(s): Aug 5 2018 - Aug 11 2018

Destination(s): RUSSIA

Name of accompanying family member (if any): Kelley Paul

Relationship to Member/Officer: ☒ Spouse ☐ Child

FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE LINES. IF THE COST OF LODGING **DID NOT INCREASE** DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.)

Expenses for Senator/Officer:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate	4,096.31	2407.20	759.04	\$250
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				Guides & Entrance Fees

Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child (if applicable)

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate	4,096.31	N/A	759.04	\$250
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount				Guides & Entrance Fee

Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. See Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if necessary.): See Attached docs

I HAVE MADE A DETERMINATION THAT THE TRAVEL DESCRIBED ABOVE WAS IN CONNECTION WITH MY DUTIES AS AN OFFICEHOLDER, AND DID NOT CREATE THE APPEARANCE THAT I WAS USING PUBLIC OFFICE FOR PRIVATE GAIN.

9-10-18

(Date)

Rand Paul

(Signature of Senator/Officer)



RECEIVED
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September 7, 2018

PETER N. GOETTLER
President and CEO

The Honorable Rand Paul
Office of Senator Rand Paul
124 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Paul:

We were delighted to have you and Kelley join the Cato Institute for our trip to Russia. Many thanks.

Attached you will find a copy of the complete trip itinerary and final expenses that you will likely need for your reporting requirements.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

With best regards,

PNG/csw
Enclosures

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CATO INSTITUTE TRIP TO RUSSIA
Agenda and Itinerary: Senator Rand Paul and Mrs. Kelley Paul

Date/Day	Timing	Agenda
5 August/Day 1 Moscow	0855-1440h	Aeroflot Flight SU 2571 from London to Moscow (NB: The Cato Institute did not cover the expenses of the London-to-Moscow flight for Senator Rand Paul, Mrs. Kelley Paul, or Mr. Sergio Gor; these expenses were their own responsibility.)
	1440-1630h	Transfer to Hotel
	1630-1730h	Personal Time
	1730-1900h	Working discussion and Visit to Varyadye Park Speaker: Cato President Peter Goettler Format and Topic: Presentation followed by discussion and Q&A. Russia and the U.S.A.—A Path Forward. Objectives: Objectives of the trip, historical assessment of Russo-American relations. Areas of possible improvement in relations between the United States and the Russian Federation.
	1900-2200h	Working Dinner Discussion Speaker: Senator Rand Paul Format and Topic: Presentation and facilitated group discussion; Q&A. Current security issues facing the US; how US and Russian relations fit into this framework; trade and business links between US and Russia—status quo and prospects. Objectives: Understand significant security issues between US and Russia. Recognize potential areas of cooperation and trade and business links between the U.S. and Russia, and their role in overall relations and the security issues.
6 August/Day 2 Moscow	0630-0730h	Breakfast at Hotel

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	0730-1030h	<p>Moscow, Kremlin Armory Museum & Kremlin Grounds & Kremlin Palace</p> <p>Speaker: Anastasia Pavlova</p> <p>Format and Topic: Tour and group discussion. Cultural relations.</p> <p>Objectives: A history of cultural exchanges between the United States and Russia. Explore why all cultural exchanges have been suspended between the Smithsonian and the Kremlin. Discuss a path forward to resuming cultural exchanges between both nations.</p>
	1030-1230h	<p>Meeting with the Russian government</p> <p>Participants: Members of the Federation Council, Foreign Affairs Committee, Senator Kosachev and other members of the Committee</p> <p>Format and Topic: Discussion sessions. Current political and economic situation in Russia; state of US/Russian relations; trade and business considerations.</p> <p>Objectives: Bilateral discussion; understanding of key issues between Russia/USA.</p>
	1230-1400h	<p>Lunch at U.S. Embassy Moscow</p> <p>Speaker: Anthony Godfrey</p> <p>Format and Topic: Presentation followed by group discussion. Environment in Russia for US government staff; current and prospective relations between US and Russia.</p> <p>Objectives: Gain embassy staff perspective on life in Russia, US/Russia relations, prospects for the relationship, and overall US foreign policy.</p>
	1400-1600h	<p>Meeting with members of the Duma, Foreign Affairs Committee, and Chairman Leonid Slutsky</p> <p>Participants: Chairman of the International Affairs Committee of the Lower Chamber of the Russian Parliament, Leonid Slutsky and Select Committee Members</p> <p>Format and Topic: Roundtable discussion. Prospects for dialogue between US and Russia.</p> <p>Objectives: Despite substantial differences between the USA and Russia, establish the need for bilateral dialogue, including between the legislators of the respective countries.</p>
	1630-1800h	<p>Meeting with the Foreign Ministry</p> <p>Participants: Deputy Minister Sergey Ryabkov</p> <p>Format and Topic: Roundtable Discussion, importance of renewing treaties between the US and Russia.</p> <p>Objectives: Despite substantial differences between the USA and Russia, establish the need for constructive bilateral dialogue.</p>
	1800-2400h	Personal Time

7 August/Day 3 Moscow	0730-0830h	Working breakfast at Hotel Participants: Valdai Discussion Group (Think tank) Speaker: Andrei Bystrykiy Format and Topic: Roundtable discussion. Foreign policy between our two nations, the future of bilateral relations. Objectives: A Russian perspective of bilateral relations, deterioration of relations, etc
	0830-1100h	St. Basil's Cathedral Accompanying Speaker: Cato Senior Fellow Flemming Rose Format and Topic: Tour lecture, and discussion. The Evolution of Russia and Russia/US relations since 1985; Rose's experiences as a journalist living in the Soviet Union during the Cold War; multiple presentations followed by discussion/Q&A. Objectives: Tap economic and political experience to understand recent Soviet/Russian history, how the country has evolved since the late Cold War period, and policy implications for the United States.
	1100-1230h	Meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, Former First Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. Format and Topic: Russian Political Situation and Russia/U.S.A. Relations; discussion. Objectives: Insights from an historic figure in recent Russian history and Russian/US relations. How were constructive relations achieved in the Cold War and is a normalization of relations possible with the United States today? Understanding the importance of dialogue between nuclear-armed states even during an era of difficult relations.
	1300-1530h	Working Lunch with Ministry of Foreign Affairs Format and Topic: Roundtable lunch with Chairman Slutsky, members of the Duma. Discussion focused on next steps to improve bilateral relations. Objectives: Suggest Duma and Federation Council members visit the United States to meet with House and Senate members as a means of initiating dialogue even during a period of strained relations.
	1530-1630h	Personal time.
	1630-1830h	Visit to cold war era Tagansky Bunker. Format: Tour and discussion Speaker: Curator of museum Objective: Witness firsthand cold war measures, discuss how nuclear weapons impacted daily life and strategic vision to limit further nuclear developments.
	1830-2130h	Working dinner

		<p>(Confirmed speaker, editor in chief of Novaya Gazeta Mr. Muratov, cancelled this day.)</p> <p>Speakers: Senator Rand Paul and Cato President Peter Goettler</p> <p>Format and Topic: Facilitated group discussion and Q&A. U.S. foreign policy.</p> <p>Objectives: Understanding elements of U.S. foreign policy that may make us less safe and secure. How U.S. threat response can spur growth of the surveillance state and deteriorate freedom and civil liberties at home.</p>
8 August/Day 4 Moscow/ St. Petersburg	0800-0918h	Transfer to Moscow Leningradskiy Railroad Station
	0918-1320h	Sapsan High-Speed Train to St. Petersburg Moskovskiy Station
	1320-1415h	Transfer to Hotel
	1415-1530h	<p>Working Lunch Discussion</p> <p>Speaker: Senator Rand Paul</p> <p>Format and Topic: Presentation followed by Q&A/discussion. Key role of diplomacy in Foreign Policy.</p> <p>Objectives: Geopolitical ramifications of engaging with adversaries around the world. From Russia to North Korea to Cuba, how a realist foreign policy is formulated.</p>
	1530-1600h	Personal time
	1600-1930h	<p>Yusupov Palace</p> <p>Speaker: Dimitri Surkin</p> <p>Format: Tour and lecture followed by discussion on importance of preserving art, cultural exchanges and resuming swaps with Washington. Analysis of historical events leading to Bolshevik revolution.</p> <p>Objective: Establish relationship in hopes of resuming museum exchanges between Moscow and St. Petersburg; understand historical perspective on evolution of Russia.</p>
	1930-2230h	<p>Working Dinner with Russian Political Opposition</p> <p>Speakers: Mikail Svetov</p> <p>Format and Topic: The State of Opposition and Prospects for Liberal Reform in Russia; multiple presentations followed by roundtable discussion.</p> <p>Objectives: Understand the current state of autocracy and opposition in Russia. Understand the dynamics that have enabled a dominant one-party system. Recognize the difficult state and continued deterioration of civil liberties and political competition in Russia.</p>
	2230h onwards	Personal time
9 August/Day 5 St. Petersburg	0730-0830h	Breakfast at Hotel
	0830-0900h	Personal Time

	0900-1245h	<p>Peterhof Palace</p> <p>Speakers: Oleg Gantsev and Mikhail Svetov</p> <p>Format and Topic: Half-day seminar. Presentation, group discussions and Q&A amidst visit to Peterhof.</p> <p>Objectives: Certain elements of Russian history are crucial to an understanding of the current governing situation and how it may or may not evolve in the future, with implications for U.S. strategy. In particular, participants will develop an understanding of how the excesses of the Tzarist era led to the Russian Revolution and long Soviet period. What role has this history played in Russia today remaining an autocratic state while virtually all the other autocracies of Europe have given way to liberal democracy?</p>
	1245-1430h	Lunch
	1430-1600h	<p>Meeting with local government officials.</p> <p>Speaker: Governor Poltavchenko</p> <p>Format and Topic: Remarks and Q&A. Governing in modern Russia. Challenges and benefits of a centralized federal government working with states and cities.</p> <p>Objectives: Understand the current state of autocracy; discuss comparative politics to US system and areas of improvement in both nations. Discuss possible political exchanges between local government and the US Congress.</p>
	1600-1800h	Personal Time
	1800-2030h	<p>Lecture and Discussion Sessions at the Hermitage</p> <p>Speaker: Curator Tatiana Pasyunkova</p> <p>Format and Topic: Tour lecture followed by discussion, Q&A. Cultural relations.</p> <p>Objective: Focus on the possibility of resuming normal relations between US museums and the Hermitage. What would it take to resume cultural exchanges between our two nations, and what sort of memorandum or legislation would need to be passed in Congress to guarantee safe passage and return for priceless works of art?</p>
10 August/Day 6 St. Petersburg	2100-2330h	<p>Working Dinner Discussion with American Expatriate</p> <p>Participant: Mr. A. Meyer</p> <p>Format and Topic: Roundtable discussion with Q&A. Living and doing business in Russia; how Russia has changed over the past twenty years and continues to evolve.</p> <p>Objectives: Understand current social state in Russia and differences in conducting business in the US and Russia.</p>
	0700-0830h	Breakfast at Hotel
	0830-0900h	Personal time
	0900-1300h	<p>Catherine Palace</p> <p>Speakers: Olga Tratynova, Museum Director</p>

		Topic and Format: Tour lecture and discussion followed by Q&A. Priceless objects and possibilities of a cultural exchange of art between this institution and the Smithsonian Museums. Objectives: Senator Paul has discussed with various officials in Washington the possibility of resuming cultural exchanges between Russia and the United States. Vital input from museum partners in Russia is essential in understanding the problem. Follow-ups in the US will include State Department engagement, Smithsonian Museum engagement, and possible legislative proposals in the US Senate.
	1300-1830h	Personal time.
	1830-2130h	Concluding Working Dinner Speakers: Senator Rand Paul & Peter Goettler Format and Topic: Facilitated group discussion. Trip review. Objectives: Observations from Russia, legislative discussion on possible solutions to adoptions, cultural exchanges and sanctions relating to elected officials. Discussion of foreign policy implications for the U.S. and other policy considerations such as trade.
11 August/Day 7	0625-1255h	Aeroflot Flight SU 33 from St. Petersburg to Moscow, connecting to Aeroflot Flight SU 104 from Moscow to Dulles

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Final Total Expenses for Each Participant

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
Senator Rand Paul	Total: \$4,096.31	Total: \$2,407.20	Total: \$759.04	Total: \$250.00
	Vehicle/Driver for Moscow, St. Petersburg: \$910.00	Moscow: \$1,008.00 (3 nights at \$336/night) plus \$181.44 (18% vat). Senator Paul's room is costlier than Mr. Sergio Gor's since it is a double occupancy room.	Moscow total: \$307.20 -Breakfast: \$114.00 (3 days, \$38/day) -Dinner: \$126.00 (2 days, \$63/day) -Vat and Service Fees: \$67.20	Guides: \$70.00 (over 6 days)
	First class train to St. Petersburg: \$270.00 Business class flight, LED – IAD: \$2,916.31	St. Petersburg: \$1,032.00 (3 nights at \$344.00/night) plus \$185.76 (18% vat). Senator Paul's room is costlier than Mr. Sergio Gor's since it is a double occupancy room.	St. Petersburg total: \$451.84 -Breakfast: \$72.00 (2 days, \$36/day) -Lunch: \$72.00 (2 days, \$36/day) -Dinner: \$209.00 (3 days, \$69.67/day) -Vat and Service Fees: \$98.84	Entrance fees: \$180.00 (over 6 days)
Mrs, Kelley Paul	Total: \$4,096.31	Total: \$0 (N/A)	Total: \$759.04	Total: \$250.00
	Vehicle/Driver for Moscow, St. Petersburg: \$910.00	Moscow: Spouse sharing room.	Moscow total: \$307.20 -Breakfast: \$114.00 (3 days, \$38/day) -Dinner: \$126.00 (2 days, \$63/day) -Vat and Service Fees: \$67.20	Guides: \$70.00 (over 6 days)
	First class train to St. Petersburg: \$270.00 Business class flight, LED – IAD: \$2,916.31	St. Petersburg: Spouse sharing room.	St. Petersburg total: \$451.84 -Breakfast: \$72.00 (2 days, \$36/day) -Lunch: \$72.00 (2 days, \$36/day) -Dinner: \$209.00 (3 days, \$69.67/day) -Vat and Service Fees: \$98.84	Entrance fees: \$180.00 (over 6 days)

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

-
1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): Cato Institute
-
2. Description of the trip: A fact-finding trip to research, discuss, and explore issues related to Russia and the U.S.,
including economics and economic development, foreign policy and security, trade relations, and the state of individual freedoms.
-
3. Dates of travel: August 5-11, 2018
-
4. Place of travel: Moscow & St. Petersburg, Russia
-
5. Name and title of Senate invitees: Senator Rand Paul, Mrs. Kelley Paul (spouse), and Mr. Sergio Gor (Deputy Chief of Staff to Senator Rand Paul)
-
6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
- ☒ (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
- OR -
- ☐ (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
7. ☒ I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
- AND -
- ☒ I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
8. I *certify* that:
- ☒ The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
- AND -
- ☒ The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**

I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and **one** overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

=OR=

☐ (B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and **two** overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (*see questions 6 and 10*).

=OR=

☐ (C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. ☒ An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

As the sole sponsor of this fact-finding trip, the Cato Institute has developed the plans and itinerary and assembled

the participants, which include Cato staff, Cato scholars, and Cato partners in addition to outside speakers,

Russia experts, former government officials, and advocates for greater liberalism in Russia.

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

See attached Addendum 1.

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

None; Cato is a first time sponsor.

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

See attached Addendum 1.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate	\$3,064.71	\$2,001.00	\$535.00	\$250.00
<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts	See Addendum 2 for itemized expenses	See Addendum 2 for itemized expenses	See Addendum 2 for itemized expenses	See Addendum 2 for itemized expenses

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

___ This trip is arranged and organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation. _____

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

See attached Addendum 1.

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

The Ritz Carlton, Moscow (Tverskaya St, 3, Moscow, Russia, 125009) ; Hotel Astoria, St. Petersburg (Bol'shaya Morskaya Ulitsa, 39, St. Petersburg, Russia, 190000)

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

See attached Addendum 1.

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Meals and lodging are in compliance with State Department per diem rates.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Business class train from Moscow to St. Petersburg;

Business class flight from St. Petersburg to D.C.

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None.

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor:



Name and Title: Peter N. Goettler, President and CEO

Name of Organization: Cato Institute

Address: 1000 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC, 20001

Telephone Number: 202-842-0200

Fax Number: 202-842-3490

E-mail Address: bsantos@cato.org